

Message Text

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PAGE 01 PARIS 16195 01 OF 04 221653Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
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O 221624Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO WHITE HOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1876

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 04 PARIS 16195

NODIS

WHITE HOUSE FOR THE PRESIDENT AND TRANSMISSION TO
DR. BRZEZINSKI

STATE DEPARTMENT FOR THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: US, FR
SUBJECT: THE GISCARD-CARTER DINNER MAY 26

1. IN PREPARING FOR GISCARD'S VISIT, IT SEEMS TO ME
THAT FOUR THEMES HAVE SPECIAL RELEVANCE FOR YOUR DINNER
WITH HIM ON MAY 26.

2. FIRST, GISCARD COMES GREATLY STRENGTHENED BY THE
VINDICATION OF HIS ELECTORAL STRATEGY AND HIS
MAJORITY'S VICTORY IN THE MARCH ELECTIONS. FRANCE'S
RETURN TO NORMALCY AFTER A LONG PERIOD OF INTENSE
POLITICAL TENSION, GISCARD'S CONSTRUCTIVE NEW SEARCH
FOR "REASONABLE COHABITATION" WITH THE LEFT, AND THE
FRENCH LABOR UNIONS' CONCLUSION THAT BARGAINING SHOULD
NOW REPLACE POLITICAL ACTION, HAVE ALL CONTRIBUTED TO
THE NEW CALM IN FRANCE. AS A RESULT, FOR THE MOMENT AT
LEAST, GISCARD AND BARRE ARE IN A STRONGER POSITION
INTERNALLY THAN THEY HAVE BEEN FOR SOME TIME. YOU MAY
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THEREFORE WISH TO REMARK ON THESE SUCCESSES AND RE-
ITERATE PERSONALLY YOUR CONGRATULATIONS.

3. SECONDLY, THE DINNER SHOULD RECALL AND BUILD ON
THE EXCELLENT RAPPORT ESTABLISHED BETWEEN YOU AND
GISCARD LAST JANUARY. SINCE THEN FRENCH PERCEPTIONS
OF US POLICY HAVE UNDERGONE SOME MAJOR STRESSES --

ON THE MONETARY ISSUES, THE REQUIREMENT OF OUR LEGISLATION FOR US-EURATOM NEGOTIATIONS, AND, MOST IMPORTANTLY, ON WHAT THE FRENCH PERCEIVE AS A TOO PASSIVE ROLE, FOR A POWER WITH GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES, IN DEALING WITH THIRD WORLD CRISES, PARTICULARLY IN AFRICA.

4. MORE RECENTLY, SOME OF THESE STRAINS HAVE BEEN MITIGATED. THE DOLLAR PROBLEM HAS RECEDED AS CONFIDENCE HAS BEEN RESTORED. OUR EXPLANATIONS OF AND INTENSE CONSULTATIONS REGARDING RECENT MILITARY AND DISARMAMENT DEVELOPMENTS HAVE HAD POSITIVE EFFECTS, ALTHOUGH THE FRENCH ARE DISAPPOINTED THAT WE HAVE NOT EMBRACED THEIR DISARMAMENT INITIATIVES MORE FULLY. THE FRENCH ALSO APPRECIATE THAT WE HAVE MADE PROGRESS ON SALT. THERE ARE EVEN HINTS OF RENEWED FRENCH COMPREHENSION OF THE NEED FOR A SOLUTION TO THE EURATOM NEGOTIATION IMPASSE. AND YOUR PROMPT, POSITIVE RESPONSE TO GISCARD ON TRANSPORTATION SUPPORT FOR SHABA IS CERTAINLY A MAJOR PLUS. AS A RESULT, THERE IS RENEWED COMPREHENSION IN PARIS OF THE PURPOSEFULNESS OF OUR POLICIES.

5. IT WILL, NEVERTHELESS, BE MOST USEFUL FOR YOU TO ENLARGE ON THESE AND OTHER ISSUES IN LIGHT OF YOUR BROADER PURPOSES AND TO CONTINUE TO ENGAGE GISCARD IN THE KIND OF BASIC DIALOGUE BEGUN HERE IN PARIS AND
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IN NORMANDY.

6. THIS IS PARTICULARLY THE CASE WITH REGARD TO AFRICAN AND MIDDLE EASTERN POLICY. IN AFRICA, FRANCE IS NOW ENGAGED ON THREE FRONTS: CHAD, WESTERN SAHARA, AND NOW ZAIRE -- AT THIS WRITING, SUCCESSFULLY. IT IS IMPORTANT TO RECOGNIZE THAT THIS IS GISCARD'S PERSONAL COMMITMENT, THAT HE HAS HAD TO OVERCOME CONSIDERABLE SKEPTICISM, PARTICULARLY FROM HIS MILITARY ADVISORS, AND THAT HE REMAINS CONVINCED -- AND, IF SHABA IS A SUCCESS -- TEMPORARILY VINDICATED IN THE

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CORRECTNESS OF HIS VIEWS.

7. GISCARD'S AIM IS MULTIPLE:

-- TO GIVE A PSYCHOLOGICAL BOOST TO THE MODERATE
STATES IN AFRICA;

-- TO ENCOURAGE THEM MORE ACTIVELY TO RESIST SOVIET
ENCROACHMENTS; AND

-- TO PROVIDE A DEGREE OF STABILITY IN WHICH
NEGOTIATED SOLUTIONS MIGHT BE POSSIBLE.

8. THE FRENCH FEEL THAT THEIR ACTIONS IN AFRICA
SERVE MORE THAN THEIR OWN NARROW INTERESTS AND THAT
THEY ARE IN FACT BEARING A WESTERN BURDEN IN AFRICA.
I BELIEVE THAT THE FRENCH ARE ESSENTIALLY CORRECT IN
THIS CONTENTION AND THAT THEIR ACTIVITY IS SERVING
WESTERN INTERESTS, PARTICULARLY AT A TIME WHEN THE
RANGE OF OPTIONS OPEN TO THE US IN AFRICA IS MORE
LIMITED THAN IN THE PAST. GISCARD WILL BE LOOKING FOR
AN EXPRESSION OF UNDERSTANDING OF AND SUPPORT FOR
FRENCH ACTIONS. IN THIS CONNECTION, GISCARD MAY ALSO
RECALL HIS PROPOSAL FOR AN "AFRICAN FUND," WHICH HE
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DISCUSSED WITH YOU IN JANUARY, SINCE HE REMAINS DEEPLY
INTERESTED IN COOPERATION AMONG WESTERN DONORS THAT CAN
HELP SHORE UP MODERATE AFRICAN REGIMES. WHILE WE HAVE
DEFLECTED THE IDEA OF A "FUND," A MORE PRAGMATIC
APPROACH INVOLVING JOINT PROJECTS IS UNDER CONSIDERATION.

9. GISCARD WILL ATTACH EQUAL IMPORTANCE TO AN ON-
GOING DISCUSSION OF THE MIDDLE EAST. THE DECISION TO

OFFER FRENCH TROOPS TO THE INTERIM UN FORCE IN LEBANON (UNIFIL) APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN TAKEN BY GISCARD WITHOUT A GREAT DEAL OF CONSULTATION WITHIN THE GOF. HIS MOTIVATIONS PROBABLY INCLUDED:

-- HISTORICAL TIES AND OBLIGATIONS TO LEBANON;

-- A DESIRE TO DEMONSTRATE FRANCE'S LEGITIMATE ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST; AND

-- THE ASSUMPTION OF A ROLE IN KEEPING WITH FRANCE'S PERCEPTIONS OF ITS RESPONSIBILITIES AS A MAJOR POWER.

10. HAD MORE LENGTHY CONSULTATIONS TAKEN PLACE WITHIN THE GOF, OTHER CONSIDERATIONS, SUCH AS THE POSSIBLE NEGATIVE EFFECT ON FRANCE'S RELATIONS WITH THE TOTALITY OF THE ARAB STATES INCLUDING THE MORE RADICAL ONES SUCH AS IRAQ AND LIBYA, MIGHT HAVE BEEN WEIGHED IN THE BALANCE. AS IT IS, A CERTAIN DISILLUSIONMENT WITH UNIFIL HAS SET IN AS THE TASK ASSIGNED UNIFIL SEEMS AT TIMES IMPOSSIBLE. IN THE FRENCH VIEW THE CONTINUED ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF PORTIONS OF SOUTH LEBANON IS PARTICULARLY COMPLICATING. IT IS UNCOMFORTABLE FOR THE FRENCH TO BE IN THE POSITION OF HAVING TO CLASH WITH THE PALESTINIANS WHEN THEIR ACTIONS CAN BE PORTRAYED AS SECRET

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SHIELDING CONTINUED ISRAELI OCCUPATION IN LEBANON.

11. DESPITE THE FRENCH DISILLUSIONMENT, WE HAVE RECENTLY DETECTED NO SERIOUS PRESSURE FOR A FRENCH WITHDRAWAL. HOWEVER, THE FRENCH CAN CLEARLY USE ENCOURAGEMENT. IT WOULD THEREFORE BE USEFUL FOR YOU TO REITERATE OUR STRONG SUPPORT FOR FRENCH PARTICIPATION AND OUR FEAR OF THE NEGATIVE IMPACT IF UNIFIL WERE TO BEGIN TO UNRAVEL. IT WOULD ALSO BE USEFUL TO LET GISCARD KNOW THAT WE ALSO ARE CONCERNED BY THE CONTINUED ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF SOUTH LEBANON AND THE VERY STRONG POSITION WE HAVE TAKEN WITH THE ISRAELIS IN THIS REGARD. ON A MORE GENERAL LEVEL, GISCARD WOULD APPRECIATE BEING FILLED IN ON THE PRESENT STATUS OF OUR MIDDLE EAST PEACE EFFORTS.

12. THIRDLY, SINCE GISCARD WILL HAVE JUST TAKEN A MAJOR INITIATIVE IN HIS UN PRESENTATION ON DISARMAMENT HE WILL UNDOUBTEDLY APPRECIATE YOUR THINKING ON THE FRENCH PROPOSALS AND ON OUR OWN INITIATIVES.

13. FOURTHLY, WE BELIEVE GISCARD WILL WISH TO DISCUSS CERTAIN ASPECTS OF NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION, ESPECI-

ALLY THE PAKISTAN REPROCESSING PLANT AND PROBABLY US-
EURATOM RENEGOTIATIONS.

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-- RE THE PAKISTAN PLANT, WE BELIEVE YOU SHOULD BEGIN
NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION MATTERS WITH THIS SUBJECT,
NOTING THAT YOU HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED BY GISCARD'S IN-
TENT TO NOT GIVE THE PAKS THE CAPABILITY TO MAKE PLUTON-
IUM AND THAT THE USG IS PREPARED TO WORK IN COOPERATION
WITH THE GOF IN DEVELOPING ASSISTANCE PROJECTS WITH
PAKISTAN AS SOON AS GISCARD PROCEEDS WITH FIRM CANCEL-
LATION OF THE PLANT. THE AFGHANISTAN SITUATION MAKES
NON-PROLIFERATION AN EVEN MORE URGENT OBJECTIVE AND
SHOULD SUPPORT THE CANCELLATION OF THE PLANT AND
ENCOURAGE AN EARLY EFFECTIVE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.

-- RE US-EURATOM RENEGOTIATIONS, WE HAVE PAINTED OUR-
SELVES INTO A CORNER ON THIS SUBJECT AND NOW AWAIT A
RESPONSE FROM THE EUROPEANS. GISCARD IS HOLDING OUT
FOR REASONS NOT CLEAR TO US. SOME SOURCES HAVE INDI-
CATED THAT GISCARD MAY RAISE THIS MATTER. YOU SHOULD
BE PREPARED TO LISTEN TO GISCARD'S VIEWS, INCLUDING
COMPLAINTS OF USG UNILATERAL ACTION ON INTERNATIONAL
AGREEMENTS. SHOULD GISCARD APPEAR FLEXIBLE, I URGE
THAT YOU TRY TO DEVELOP WITH HIM A MUTUALLY AGREEABLE
SOLUTION TO THE CURRENT IMPASSE.

14. THE FOLLOWING IS A CHECKLIST OF OTHER POINTS WHICH
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SHOULD OR MIGHT COME UP:

A. EUROPE. GISCARD MAY ONCE AGAIN SEEK YOUR ASSESSMENT OF THE STATE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS, IN LIGHT OF BREZHNEV'S DECLINING CAPACITIES AND THE EMERGENCE OF CHINA AS A MAJOR FACTOR. HE MAY BE EQUALLY INTERESTED IN DISCUSSING HIS OWN CONCEPTIONS FOR EUROPE. WITH HIS DOMESTIC POPULARITY AT AN ALL-TIME HIGH, GISCARD PROBABLY SEES HIMSELF AS THE PRESIDENT OF FRANCE FOR THE NEXT TEN YEARS. HE HAS INDICATED A RENEWED CONCENTRATION ON EUROPEAN CONSTRUCTION. IN MY VIEW THIS MAY IMPLY OVER THE LONG TERM SOME DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE US, THOUGH NOT OF THE GRAVITY THAT MARKED THE DEGAULLE YEARS. FOR NOW IT WOULD BE USEFUL, IF YOU HAVE TIME, TO ASK GISCARD HOW HE EXPECTS WESTERN EUROPE TO DEVELOP AND WHAT KIND OF A RELATIONSHIP HE SEES IT HAVING WITH THE US.

B. BONN SUMMIT. FRENCH PREPARATIONS ARE PROCEEDING NORMALLY AND POSE NO SPECIAL DIFFICULTIES. THE FRENCH HAVE SEIZED ON SCHMIDT'S STATED INTEREST IN CLOSER EUROPEAN MONETARY COOPERATION BUT HAVE TAKEN PAINS TO ASSURE US THAT THIS IS NOT DIRECTED AGAINST THE DOLLAR OR US INTERESTS. SIMILARLY, MATTERS SEEM TO BE PROCEEDING NORMALLY -- SO FAR AS US-FRENCH RELATIONS ARE CONCERNED -- IN THE MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS. NEVERTHELESS, A BRIEF REITERATION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO A SUCCESSFUL MTN AS A MEANS OF COUNTERING PROTECTIONIST PRESSURES CAN DO NO HARM.

C. CHINA. THE FRENCH HAVE ASKED OUR VIEWS ON THE SALE OF TWO NUCLEAR-POWER REACTORS TO THE PRC. GISCARD WILL ALSO BE INTERESTED IN OUR REACTION TO THE POSSIBLE

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SALE BY FRANCE OF ANTITANK MISSILES TO THE PRC. HE WILL VERY MUCH WANT AN ANSWER.

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D. SALT. GISCARD WILL BE INTERESTED IN PROSPECTS
FOR SALT AND HOW THE NON-CIRCUMVENTION CLAUSE MIGHT
AFFECT US-EUROPEAN COOPERATION.

E. NPW VISITS. IF WE ARE TO GAIN ACCESS TO FRENCH
PORTS FOR US NUCLEAR-POWERED WARSHIPS, IT WILL PROBABLY
BE NECESSARY FOR YOU TO RAISE THE SUBJECT, EMPHASIZING
THAT A POLITICAL DECISION IS NEEDED, SO THAT THE NOW
ESSENTIALLY TECHNICAL OBJECTIONS ON BOTH SIDES CAN BE
OVERCOME.

F. AWACS. IN THE EVENT THAT GISCARD RAISES IT,
THE GOF HAS OFFERED \$200 MILLION FOR A SUBSCRIPTION
OVER 20 YEARS, PLUS A SEPARATE OFFER TO SPLIT 50-50
WITH THE US THE \$159 MILLION INCREASED ACQUISITION
COSTS FOR EQUIPPING THE AWACS AIRCRAFT WITH GE/SNECMA
CFM-56 ENGINES.

G. CIVIL AVIATION. THIS IS ONE AREA WHERE THERE
ARE CURRENT TENSIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS,
ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE NOT BECOME A GENERAL POLITICAL
ISSUE. THE MAJOR CONCORDE PROBLEMS SEEM TO BE BEHIND
US AND THE FRENCH TAKE PRIDE IN THE EASTERN AIRLINES
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CHOICE OF AIRBUS. THEY DO HOPE US MANUFACTURERS WILL
NOT TRY TO BLOCK AIRBUS SALES IN THE US. THE FRENCH
AVIATION AUTHORITIES ARE RESTIVE ABOUT OUR NEW
POLICIES REGARDING NORTH ATLANTIC FARES AND RELATED
MATTERS AND THERE ARE ADDITIONAL IRRITANTS INVOLVING

PARIS LANDING RIGHTS FOR PAN AMERICAN. WE SERIOUSLY
DOUBT GISCARD WOULD RAISE THESE HIGHLY TECHNICAL
MATTERS. IT IS CONCEIVABLE, HOWEVER, THAT HE COULD
MAKE A GENERAL ALLUSION TO FRANCE'S "CONCERNS" IN
THE CIVIL AVIATION FIELD.
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